167 /312 cont./Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned
[464] from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that
is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find
work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together
with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glitter-
ing fortune which awaited them in the country to the east.
With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the
Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown.
They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course
of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into
these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate
the Izozog from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows
and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the
Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often
[271] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots,
[324] which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of
walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there
reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a
little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained
to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but
who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I in-
quired discreetly as to the success of his business over there,
Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through
with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie,"
todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing
this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and
glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple
trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he under-
took in the past to go to Argentina.

193 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of
534 adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about?
548 I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian
484 Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be,
refers to definitely authentic facts:

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núñez

[Text continues on P. 30]

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 76) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/319/

They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/346 cont./

half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 30 years ago, those who /Plate XIII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 352).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacada" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Nuevirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 93]

/351/
226 /Figs. 73-77 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to
harpoon the enormous surubí which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 71). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are
24? marvelous swimmers.
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The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

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1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 71. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

24?
439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Tobas or the Matacos, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[481] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguanos, bent under the weight of their sacs full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh
● [484] or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to boat on it (Nino, p. 251).

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 26).

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Fig. 27. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

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The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano comes from a mine situated in the San Simon region, between San Luis (Entre Rios) and the Solado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

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/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuí
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of partic-
293 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an iru (Plate XVII. 1), which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kîwi. Cururuí. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
293 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

293 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[198] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
239 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[For plate XVII, See category 86, P.129--Analyst]

/3 cont./

133 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his
132 field with its own fence: his cow also grazes there, with her
311 calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive armadillos, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound: more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Tva, which without having a river or anything similar, possess abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
• [164] supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families: they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

4c Nimuendajú 249 M-3 (1930-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/191 cont./

462 415 531 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

(825) 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Taimbé haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/192/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the motís. They now color all the (384) (239) etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces with Urucú achiote, making them firm with the Taraglirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237 323 825 1. The Taraglirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323 (462) (317) (484) I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles. For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/192 cont./

291 [256] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuacuá; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [231] [182] Another of their conveniences is the Urupucu, long bag in its literal translation. The Urupucu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's escarsela. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meal, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 • 484 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the matés; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it more (2).

2. The Indians who are governed by corregidors in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/185 cont./

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Ketscher/, from which the fish cannot escape.

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days.

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points.

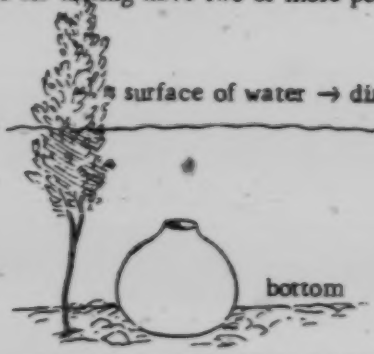

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash. Rio Itiyuro.

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points.

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry.

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears.

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency.

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit.

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night.

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites.

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment) /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule,

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/295 cont./ The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

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The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

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[763]

When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

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[825]
[784]
[484]

/296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a

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myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyúro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was

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[825]

destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

C Ce 482 489 492 /78 cont./ Concerning means of transport by land we do not have any evidence except through the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to transport loads.

C Ce 286 415 482 [484] The objects used to transport burdens have already been mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most general is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought, often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C Ce 415 482 [854] Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carrying loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things. Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head. This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

C Ce [177]

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

C Ce [484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.